/196 cont./

Islands to polish wooden objects, such as boat parts; cf. Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 106.]

This work is the daily occupation of the men in some villages, as in general all industries are limited to specific villages where they are passed on from father to son. -- The breastplates are made on similar stone slabs. Unfortunately, I do not know how their perfect roundness is achieved. -- The plaited arm-bands (Ethn., I, p. 80, Fig. 9, No. 2) are made on a wooden cylinder (Fig. 43). A cord is /Fig. 43 appears here/ wound spirally around it and over two sticks, and then the windings are wrapped with fine fibers.

Among the axes, besides the form shown in Ethn., I, p. 118, Fig. 46, where the Tridacna blade is set into a rotatable wooden socket, there is another one in which the flat blade is fastened directly to the shaft /197/ (Fig. 44) in such a way that the convex side is underneath (1).

1. [According to Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 165, the smaller axes are used to make wooden bowls, boat scoops, etc., the larger ones for building houses and boats. Girieud and Herrenschmidt's remarks, p. 106, about corresponding tools of the Reef Islands are not quite clear.]

[Several authors mention a drill (2).]

2. [O'Ferrall, section "Historical-Sketch," and Coombe, p. 188: "a rude drill" /cited in English/. -- Files, as in Ethn., I, p. 118, Fig. 46, No. 3, are mentioned by Girieud and

[Text continues on p. 99 --Analyst]

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

438 access to the deep sea are exporters of fish; pigs are bred in sandy areas where coconuts for feeding are plentiful, and several kinds of arboriculture are associated with the rainfall and forest cover peculiar to other areas. But specialization goes beyond ecology. Such arts as [463] the raising and training of hunting dogs,

[text continues on p. 97 (A)]

[p 96 (C)]

438 canoe building, weaving, the manufacturing of bark cloth, tools and ornaments—and currency making—are indigenous to one or another small island or to one village on an island. Each of these specialized industries and crafts is regarded by its practitioners as a right [428] inherited in the family line, and only individuals in the proper line of succession may manufacture currency, go shark fishing, build canoes or follow any other trade.

438 This primitive division of labor requires in many instances that raw or semiprocessed materials be brought from one district or island to another, where the goods are finished for local consumption or for export. In the busy 437 commerce of the interisland economy goods are rarely bartered. They are sold for currency: feather money or, increasingly, Australian currency. For all who participate the motivation of this trade goes beyond the exchange of necessities and native luxuries; the islanders buy and sell for the express purpose of making money. The accumulation of money 556 is the way to prestige. But since the currency itself is perishable, prestige finds its tangible expression in spending as well as in accumulation, above all in helping to buy brides for members of one's family and friends and in giving [642] feasts. Prestige won in these ways is the source of political power and authority.

436 The red-feather currency is made only [438] on Santa Cruz Island. It is made on [675] contract for a specific purchaser, who negotiates individually with the three different hereditary specialists whose combined skills are required for its [463] manufacture. The first specialist snares the little jungle bird whose down sup-

438
102

1 EXPORTERS OF WOMEN
2 NAVIGATORS AND TRADERS
3 ARBORICULTURE
4 PIG BREEDING
5 SHARK FISHING
6 SPECIALIZED CRAFTS
7 TARO GROWING

——— RED-FEATHER CURRENCY
——— WOMEN [w]
——— GOODS AND PRODUCE
O FEATHERS AND SHINGLES
• CURRENCY BINDING

438 certain districts of Santa Cruz Island, circulates there and in the Reefs and Duffs.

[p97 (A)]

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

plies the red color of the money. The second makes individual platelets of pigeon feathers and decorates each with a band of the red down. The third assembles the platelets by binding them on two cords to form a belt.

The bird on which the entire system depends is a small scarlet-colored honey eater (*Myzomela cardinalis*) of the rain forest. The bird snarer makes portable perches covered with the sticky latex of a forest tree and fastens at the top of each either a live decoy of the species or a flower that the honey eater likes. Hanging a number of these perches in adjacent trees, he shields himself behind a blind of betel palm leaves and attracts birds into the area by chirping with a whistle made from a tree bud. Investigating the flower or the decoy, the honey eaters approach the sticky perch and are caught by their wings or feet. The bird snarer plucks the red down from the birds' breasts, heads and backs. he does not deliberately kill them in the process, but they usually die as a result. In the half-shell of a coconut he packs tightly the down of 10 birds, and this is the basic unit in which he deals.

The platelet maker usually secures his

[497(c)]

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

287
436 the center like a scroll, the shingling of the feathered surface resembling the scales of a snake when its spine is flexed.

All three of the skills involved in the manufacturing of feather money are believed to have been given to mortals by munificent spirits who still inhabit the island, keeping a watchful eye on the

[776]
[463]

[499 (B)]

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
OSI3 Santa Cruz ONI3

436
463
287
[776]
[789]

work of their protégés. None of the tasks requires exceptional skill or a lengthy apprenticeship, but the craftsman depends on secret incantations and talismans to keep in close communion with the spirits. The right to pursue a currency-making skill comes with the inheritance of these magic secrets; no

[799(c)]

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1982
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

463
287
[436]

unauthorized person will risk the anger of the spirits by making his own currency. Many of the islands' other specialties have their own supernatural trappings, which reinforce the restrictions imposed by heredity. No specialty is regarded as superior to any other and none, not even currency making, is likely

[Text continues on p. 101]

[p99 (D)]

463 to be more lucrative than another. The specialists plying each trade compete with one another, and the hereditary lines in each occupation are sufficiently numerous and dispersed so that no individual or small group can easily obtain a monopoly or control over the market.

[287]
[477]

436 Feather currency has absolutely no other use than as a medium of exchange, a standard of value and a store of wealth. It is not worn or displayed. In other words, it has no inherent usefulness; it is a true money. Yet it is produced and circulated in a free market, controlled only by supply and demand and by the principle of devaluation over time. Inflation is avoided, in spite of the constant issuance of new money, by the depreciation and withdrawal from circulation of old money.

[458]

435 436 The size and richness of color of a new piece of currency determine its original value. These two criteria are reducible to the number of birds and the amount of labor that go into its manufacture. In addition to the down of 300 birds, the average piece embodies 500 or 600 man-hours of work by the three specialists. But the width and sometimes the length of a belt can vary. And the red hue can be more or less saturated depending on how much down was used or the extent to which the less admired orange feathers were discarded.

Depreciation comes with time from damage by vermin and molds as well as from the wear and tear of handling. Great care is taken to protect the currency. The double coils are wrapped tightly, first in a dried fan-palm leaf and then in many layers of bark cloth. Looking more like a bundle of rags than something of value, the coils are stored on a shelf under which the household fire is kept smoldering. The heat inhibits molds, the smoke keeps insects and other vermin away and the wrappings protect the money from smoke damage. In spite of these precautions, each piece of currency eventually deteriorates. When the last bit of color disappears, the belt is discarded.

The value of most currencies is referred ultimately to some standard; in the Santa Cruz Islands the standard is the unseemly combination of pigs and marriage payments. The minimum payment made to the bride's family by the groom's kin at marriage—the bride price—always consists of 10 units of currency graduated in value from a new or nearly perfect No. 1 ("bottom") piece to a No. 10 ("top") piece, which is just above the threshold of no value. The

[583]

435 "porkers," because a pig suitable for a
436 feast can be bought with currencies in this range; pieces from No. 6 to No. 10 are called "sucklings," because they will buy only pigs too small to be eaten.
437 Except for the negotiation of bride
[583] prices, there is remarkably little haggling over the price of any purchase. The buyer of a pig or canoe or taro roots
[626] offers what he considers a fair amount of currency, and the seller accepts. If the seller feels he has been underpaid, he can seriously damage the buyer's reputation by gossiping about the transaction and refusing to deal with him again.

435 As in the purchase of a bride, certain
436 other purchases must be made with specified pieces of high value. The seller
[437] has no obligation to "make change," so currency is exchanged ahead of time.
[463] This can be done by anyone, but some men who are particularly adept at

[4102 (B)]

435 436 [463] money changing specialize in it and make a profit. These transactions take place before an informal gathering of witnesses in the men's clubhouse of a village, where the pieces of currency are draped over a horizontal bar for close comparison. Regardless of who has initiated the deal, the piece of greatest value (the "high piece") is hung over the center of the bar. Alongside it (and always in the direction of the Nembo River, a spring-fed stream symbolically associated with the currency spirits) is hung the "base piece," the most valuable of the belts to be exchanged for the high piece. On the other side is hung the "crown piece," the piece that makes up the difference in value between the base piece and the high piece. Values are matched in terms of the 10-point scale. For example, if the high piece is an average No. 6 and the base piece is a fine No. 7, a middling No. 7 may suffice as a crown. [776] [778]

In this manner the par value of the high piece is agreed on. But the price at which it now actually sells is something else again. Because high-value currency is scarcer than low-value currency, the owner of the high piece is a seller in a seller's market. The buyer (the owner of the base and crown pieces) must offer additional currency. It is not only that the high piece is newer; there are fewer new pieces in circulation. Hence market value is correlated to scarcity. The greater the par value of the high piece, the greater the spread between this value and the market price. (It is as though a $10 bill were worth a little more than two fives and a $20 bill worth more than two tens by a still larger margin.) It is the difficulty and expense of obtaining high-value pieces on the exchange market that ultimately leads a man to contract with the three currency specialists for a new piece.

438 Since all the feather currency originates on Santa Cruz Island, it must flow continually from its source to the Reef and Duff islands, where it is not manufactured. To maintain this one-way flow of currency the Reef Islanders have traditionally exported some of their women to Santa Cruz. Today the women go only as wives but once some went as concubines. Concubines were clearly distinguished from wives: they were shared by a group of men; they did no gardening or other domestic chores; having no dwelling of their own, they lived in the men's clubhouse. On the other hand, a concubine's possessors [595] [548]

[p 102 (c)]

WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct or indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist[1] has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.[2] They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

1, 2 [For footnotes, see category 116, page 68.-Analyst]

121
177
436

101
[131]
[133]
[161]
[197]
[184]

184
438
[463]

[428]

6:Beasley U-4 (no date) 1935 ONI3 Santa Cruz ONI3

436 [114] feature, are derived from a paroquet. The writer has had the assistance of two local residents, who have kindly made enquiries over the last two years. Some twenty specimens are known to be preserved in museums, many of which are but poor examples of the original coils. It has been definitely ascertained that in the past no less than eleven distinct grades of this currency were recognised, the difference varying with the width of the coils, and the introduction of recognised quantities of feathers other than red, the lowest grade (of which none exist to-day) being composed entirely of black feathers.

436 174 [173] Whilst the native versions as to the conception of this currency definitely state that it is comparatively modern, it should be borne in mind that in view of the conservatism of the native mind, such a highly specialised example of technical effort must represent many generations of time. Whilst the method of manufacture, coupled with the recognised eleven grades of values, and the fact that only the bush people have this knowledge, all point to a state of affairs which must be of considerable antiquity. This is further strengthened by the multiplication of the various interests involved. First [463] are the people who only capture the birds and extract the feathers. Secondly there are the people who stick on the feathers to the plates, and lastly, those (invariably bush people) who work up the plates into the coils. The origin is therefore decidedly uncertain. The natives have, however, retained the [173] name of the originator, and are emphatic that red feather money superseded shell currency. Shell money is still made and is produced as single strings packed in banana leaf bundles, whilst another form consists of broad belts made up of numerous strands of shell beads, examples of which are well [171] known from the Carolines.

There are no records obtainable to-day as to the origin of this remarkable currency, but examination of these coils does, however, reveal certain features, and the very obvious results indicate that they were originally body belts, a common form of personal ornament all over Melanesia, and proof [301] is established by a series of comparative examples. One may surmise even further, though without definite proof, that formerly the belt was a bark one on which the feathers were fixed direct, and as such belts become recognised commercial units, the desire to create similar belts of higher values became a form of economic necessity; so the loose band of feather work was evolved, which, however, still retained the original finish to the ends, and the cords for tying, and the original bark belt simply became the frame on which the feather belt was for convenience wound. Specimens of the currency, both in process of manufacture and the completed coil, with slides, were shown.

000 **Handbook of African Tribes.**

A meeting of the African group was held on the 9th April to consider the possibility of effecting co-operation between the Royal Anthropological Institute and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in regard to the *Handbook of African Tribes* contemplated by the latter. It was generally agreed that the *Handbook* is a very desirable undertaking and one which the Royal Anthropological Institute should actively support. It was resolved that the Council be recommended (1) to issue a circular, conjointly with other interested Societies and Institutes, to its members advising them of the nature of the projected *Handbook* and inviting the assistance of all such as are in a position to render assistance; (2) to use the group as a nucleus of all activities concerned with the *Handbook*: that members be invited to enlist their names with the chairman of the group to form a panel of collaborators who may be drawn upon when the schemes for the *Handbook* have made further progress. 77

As at present conceived, the *Handbook* will consist of three separate volumes under separate editors: (1) South Africa, including South West Africa, Portuguese East Africa, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland; (2) East Africa, including North Africa, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Abyssinia, the countries of the Eastern Horn, and North Africa; (3) West Africa.

It is earnestly requested that all Fellows, whether in Africa or not, who are able to help in this work, which it is estimated will occupy some three years, should communicate with the chairman of the African Group (c/o The Royal Anthropological Institute), who will put them in touch with the appropriate editors and suggest the lines along which their assistance will be most welcome. The organization of such a panel of volunteers appears to be the most effective way in which the Institute may co-operate in this project.

REVIEWS.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

Bronzealtrets and Järnåldersålders Chronologie: I Italien; II Mellaneuropa; III Kaukasien och Främre Brons-asien; IV Grekland-land. *By Nils Åberg.* (*Monographien No. 18 Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm*) 1930–1932. 78

Dr. Åberg's new chronology of prehistoric Europe is noteworthy, firstly, as indicating the final overthrow of the inflated dates introduced by his